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SEE THE FOURTH PAGE

## STAR SPANGLED BANNER OR THE GREEN DRAGON?

By Victor L. Berger.

An item on the first page of the *Milwaukee Sentinel* says:

Clarence S. Darrow, the well-known Socialist lawyer of Chicago, created considerable comment recently when he refused to rise in his seat while "The Star Spangled Banner" was being sung in the Silver Grill restaurant of a leading hotel in Spokane, Wash. Among the many who took dinner at the time at this restaurant was C. W. Mott, general emigration agent of the Northern Pacific road, who was in Milwaukee yesterday. Mr. Mott, like all other guests of the hotel, and the restaurant was crowded at the time, was greatly incensed over the action of Mr. Darrow.

"Out West people dine more in restaurants than here in the East," said Mr. Mott yesterday, in speaking of the incident. "Under the circumstances it was but natural that the Silver Grill was crowded. The orchestra had just finished a selection from 'Tannhauser' when a young woman stepped forward to sing 'The Star Spangled Banner.' As a fitting prelude the orchestra struck up a medley of national airs that made the blood of each one of us tingle, and when the strains melted into 'The Star Spangled Banner' every one arose in his seat as a mark of respect to our flag. All except Mr. Darrow. He was seated at a table with an associate who arose like the rest of us, but Mr. Darrow remained seated. His friend apparently pleaded with him to rise also, but he shook his head.

"The incident did not pass by unnoticed. Suddenly a woman began to hiss, and before the next second had passed hisses came from every part of the room, but Mr. Darrow paid no attention to it. Others called to him to rise like an American, true to his country, but he remained undisturbed to the end amid all the excitement.

"Mr. Darrow is considered the archangel of Socialism in this country. If that is their principle of love and gratitude toward the flag that protects them at home and abroad, it seems to me that the people can do no less than crush Socialists wherever they may appear to spread their doctrine of hatred and discontent. Socialism is a serpent gnawing at the root of the nation."

I have not the pleasure of knowing C. W. Mott—although I do know that he used to live in Milwaukee and was considered a "good fellow," whatever that means.

But I do know Mr. Darrow. And, therefore, I believe I am safe in saying that Clarence Darrow has more brains than all those present in the Silver Grill combined—"Charlie" Mott thrown in to the bargain. Darrow is one of the best lawyers in America.

Yet Clarence Darrow is no "archangel of the Socialists." In fact, he is neither an angel nor a Socialist. He is the man who wrote the famous booklet "Resist Not Evil." He is a "philosophic anarchist" and so considered by every body, including himself.

Clarence Darrow is not now, and never was, a member of the Socialist party.

But what he did at the Silver Grill is surely not to his discredit. And I believe I might have done the same myself—coming as he did from the trial of W. D. Haywood and seeing what "patriotism" means in Colorado and Idaho.

And what is patriotism at the present time? Today, if ever, patriotism may be considered the "last refuge of the scoundrel."

John D. Rockefeller is a patriot. August Belmont is a patriot. Tom Ryan of New York is a patriot. Sherman Bell and ex-Governor Peabody are patriots. Richard Crocker was a patriot until he expropriated himself.

The "yellow dog fund" was a patriot fund, and so is the Republican campaign fund. Every big thief, every great exploiter, every huge leech sucking the life blood of the people is a patriot. He will tell you so himself.

And he is protected by the flag, by the star-spangled banner. He is protected not only in life and limb, but also in his stolen possessions.

But the common workman, the proletarian, is not protected. He does not have anything, so he does not need any protection. He owns nothing of the country, not even enough of it to build a house on for himself and family.

"This flag" cannot protect the home of a man who owns no home. And as for his life and limbs—the owner of the factory "insures" himself against any accidents that might befall the man. The man has to fight it out in the courts.

And the flag has nothing to do with it. And the worker never goes abroad except as a sailor, a stoker or fireman, or a stowaway.

So we cannot see where the principle of love or gratitude of workmen toward "the flag that protects them here and abroad" should come in.

Yet I will say that the proletarians in general are patriots in the highest sense.

They not only build the cities, railways and work-shops, but they also protect them against fire and flood. And it is the working class that furnishes the soldiers, or at least the overwhelming majority of them. It is the working class that has to do the fighting, although they have nothing to do with the declaration of war.

If the railroad managers and the bankers and the capitalists should have to do their own fighting, a war would not last long.

And it is no more than right that the workmen as a whole should love their country as a whole. They will inherit it as soon as they make use of their brains for themselves. They have created these cities with their magnificent palaces, museums, libraries, art institutions, schools, etc., and by right these belong to them and not to the capitalists.

This brilliant culture of our country—art, education and literature—is by right an inheritance of the white race.

And a nation that will own its country again will be a nation that will have a real reason to become patriotic again. And I hope that America will be among the first.

The flag fetish is silly when it is not hypocritical. And it is hypocritical when it is not silly.

It is a remnant of feudal barbarism, when it represented the feudal allegiance of the vassal to the "coat of arms" of his lord—usually emblematic of some carnivorous beast or some bird of prey.

I despise every fetish. The green flag of the prophet Mohammed, or of Ireland, is as dear to me as the red flag of the Socialists or the star-spangled banner. A flag is a piece of dry goods that one can buy for 75 cents in any department store.

It is the idea that is behind it that is to decide whether the flag is worth following or not.

And just now the stars and stripes cover all sorts of oppression, misery, prostitution, graft and exploitation of women and children, not to mention the exploitation of millions of men.

This flag is now the coat of arms of the meat trust and the oil trust and every other trust. It is the banner of E. H. Harriman, Tom Ryan, August Belmont, Chauncey Depew and Tom Platt of New York.

And as for the silly custom of getting up whenever the Star-Spangled Banner is played—that was imported from the old country. There the officers and their women—legal or illegal—stand up in the cafe or in the German "Wirthshaus" whenever "God Save the King" or "Heil Dir im Siegerkranz" is played.

Ten, twenty or thirty years ago, before our plutocrats and our middle class traveled so much in Europe this custom was not practiced in our country.

It is a shoddy imitation of a feudal custom—just like the "coats of arms" on the carriages of our millionaires.

I personally would just as soon get up when the band plays "Hiawatha" or "Hail, Hail, the Gang is all Here" as for the Star-Spangled Banner. "Hiawatha" stands for a good time, the Star-Spangled Banner stood for Hell in Colorado and stands for the same thing in Pennsylvania and other places.

If they want the workmen to sing "The Star-Spangled Banner, long may it wave,"—then this must become again "the home of the free and the brave."

Tear the flag away from Simon Grunzheim of Colorado, who

Robert Hunter, author of "Pov-

erty," has been visiting the various European countries and has been looking at things from the standpoint of the Social-Democrat. Among other things, he writes: "I have been impressed this year abroad with nothing so much as the influence of Socialism in the various parliaments. I had thought before coming abroad that that conspiracy of silence which is used with such effect against us in America was also general throughout Europe. But I have seen that no matter how much the press may wish to ignore Socialism it is forced by the trend of events to give it the most conspicuous place in its columns. Even the most reactionary journals dare not ignore the progress of the movement. It matters not what journal one may pick up in Paris, in Berlin, in London, or in Rome, one is sure to find the latest news of the Socialist movement in the various countries of Europe. One reads of the latest action of the labor party in England, the latest manifesto of the Social-Democrats of Russia, some extracts from a speech of Bebel or Jaures. Whenever there is an election in one of the countries, columns of the press are filled with the subject and with speculation as to the effect of the election upon the Socialist movement. Indeed, so much is written that it is quite impossible, if one wishes to do anything else, to read all of the news concerning the movement."

"... laborers have not generally been getting a commensurate portion of what they produce; and that, we think, is a fact that all recent and remote history will substantiate. If that sounds socialistic then the Socialists are welcome to our influence in so far as that statement goes. Nor do we believe that statement is in any way in conflict with property rights, for with the present feelings, inclinations, tendencies, thoughts and determinations of the great mass of people, the ideas of property rights seem designed to become still more intensified as time goes on."

So says the editor of the *Railway Conductor*, and we quote it because of the timidity of it and the bourgeois reasoning contained in the latter part. Really, now—haven't the workers been getting the wealth they have produced? Or a "commensurate" part of it? Well, well! The workers live in the palaces they build, don't they, and don't they eat the abundance of food they call into being? And don't they wear the fine silks and broadcloth which they create so wonderfully and with infinite pains? Of course they must, if they have such "intensified" ideas of "property rights." But, sarcasm aside, Mr. Editor, the ideas of the workers as to property rights are becoming intensified, although not in the way your capitalist mind would have it. It is becoming intensified from their standpoint. They have already keen enough perceptions of property rights to feel that a system of society that will not permit the workers to have the property they create is a dishonest and a cruel system and must be gotten rid of and right relations established. But of course that isn't what you meant, for you would hate to say anything that might displease the masters.

A government for the people by capitalism is always a remarkable thing. At the last session of the Pennsylvania legislature the chief factory inspector of the state, John Alderman E. T. Melms, who was the Social-Democratic member of the delegation of three that was sent to the annual convention of the American League of American Municipalities by the city council of Milwaukee, has returned from Norfolk, and reports a successful meeting as far as could be expected from a non-Socialist gathering. The pro-municipal ownership feeling was very marked, even in the face of the new hope of the corporations and politicians—regulation. In fact, regulation was looked on with undisguised suspicion. The subject considered the first day was that of low rates for public service corporations versus franchise taxation. Several papers were read. The

has openly bought his seat in the Senate, and return it to the people. And the people will love it again.

There is a very serious aspect to all this. The question is, what are we coming to? Here is the "general immigration agent" of a thieves' road—the tool of a Harriman or a Jim Hill—having the criminal insolence to tell people that "Socialism is a serpent gnawing at the root of the nation." Whereas, as a matter of fact, the only persons who gave the sign of the snake were the "ladies and gentlemen" (including Mr. Mott) who hissed Clarence Darrow.

Quo vadis—plain American citizen?

While the people of the United States have a quasi-Republican form of government, the tendency—not only in capitalist circles but also in the well-to-do middle class—is decidedly anti-Republican. While we are supposed to have a democracy, we are hampered by having an unowned king and a senatorial oligarchy—and the well-to-do middle class applauds both.

While we have no established church to support, church property is not taxed, and so we are made to support all the churches, whether we want to do so or not.

While we have no hereditary nobility, we have a moneyed aristocracy which has now become hereditary. And it is the most oppressive and contemptible the world has ever seen.

And while we have the general franchise in this country—we have at the same time the most stupendous political frauds. Six million black men are now disfranchised, and very soon an attempt will be made to disfranchise the poor whites.

In short, unless the people will rise in all their might and shake off or kill off about 500,000 human lice which infest our economic and political body, this country is lost.

And the Star-Spangled Banner, within a few generations, will have about the same meaning as the Green Dragon of the Chinese Empire.

Consideration for Respectable

Boise, Idaho, Sept. 23.—Former Gov. Frank Steunenberg of Idaho, assassinated by the notorious Harry Orchard, was one of the men indicted with Senator William Borah, charged with conspiracy to defraud the government of valuable timber lands.

United States District Attorney Norman L. Ruiz caused a sensation when he made this announcement in court this morning when the work of impaneling a jury to try Borah was begun.

The name of Steunenberg was not expected as it was not known that he was interested in lands with Borah. Steunenberg is represented in the indictment as "John Doe."

Boise, Idaho, Sept. 24.—The jury to try United States Senator Borah was completed this afternoon. The government contended that it considered the senator's alleged land frauds only a misdemeanor.

The arguments against Senator Borah and the twelve others charged that they entered into a conspiracy with 108 residents of Boise whereby the latter were to take up timber land claims of 160 acres each. They were to pay the minimum price to the government and later, when the claims were finally approved, to transfer the land to the Barber Lumber Company, whose principal officers are residents of Wisconsin.

C. Delaney, appeared before a committee of the house and uttered these significant words: "Gentlemen, there is no question in anybody's mind but that the children of the state need protection. No one has the interests of the children more at heart (1) than I have. But there are other interests that must be protected. I refer, gentlemen, to the industrial interests of the state." And largely through his work the child labor bill was defeated. Now the hundred thousand working children cannot take advantage of Pennsylvania's capitalists! What a narrow escape! This labor "inspector" is really in the employ of the glass factories, textile works, coalmines, and other forms of capitalist exploitation of baby blood and muscle, but draws his pay from the state. For these industries were the ones he wanted "protected," these and the hundred others in Philadelphia, where the child-labor committee found children from 8 to 13 years of age at work. In the Pennsylvania glass factories boys of twelve years work in night shifts from 5:30 p. m. to 3:30 a. m. And then there are the breaker boys that owners of the industries "must be protected from," little fellows many of whom are not over 9 years old, and who are paid fifty cents a day. They have also children as young as 8 years working in Pennsylvania textile mills. And child labor bills have to be defeated in order that this form of capitalist vampirism may be "protected!" And no one has the interests of the children more at heart than I have," say the factory inspectors—the capitalist factory inspectors!

Alderman E. T. Melms, who was the Social-Democratic member of the delegation of three that was sent to the annual convention of the American League of American Municipalities by the city council of Milwaukee, has returned from Norfolk, and reports a successful meeting as far as could be expected from a non-Socialist gathering. The pro-municipal ownership feeling was very marked, even in the face of the new hope of the corporations and politicians—regulation. In fact, regulation was looked on with undisguised suspicion. The subject considered the first day was that of low rates for public service corporations versus franchise taxation. Several papers were read. The

was charged with being often the cause of the failure of municipal ownership, for it was corporation money that poisoned elections and put evil men into control. If the private corporations could make big dividends for themselves by carrying on public utilities, it was clear that the communities could operate their own utilities without dividends, pay good wages and give better service. And it was noticeable this year that street cars were talked of among the things that should be publicly owned and operated. The convention took strong ground in favor of home rule for cities. As at present constituted the cities are really governed by state legislatures, made up in large part by farmers who know little of city needs and care less. The state delegates a certain modicum of governmental right to the city by means of a general or special charter. The convention instructed its secretary to send a communication to each state legislature praying for home rule for cities and to also ask all mayors to appoint committees to go to the legislatures to back up the demand. A. L. Melms introduced a resolution, which was passed unanimously, to have copies of several pamphlets collected by Allan Ripley Foote of Columbus, O., sent to the various members, as being helpful where charters were to be drafted.

spirit of the convention was to the effect that no more franchises should be granted without the insertion of a municipal ownership clause. To regulate was a doubtful expedient. Who was to determine what low rates were, or what a franchise was worth? And how could low rates be expected of a private corporation that was forced to pay high taxes? On the second day the convention took up the subject of government by commission, which is now being tried in Galveston, Dallas and Houston, Texas; Nashville and Memphis, Tenn.; Des Moines, Ia.; Newport, R. I.; and Los Angeles, Cal. In the discussion some delegates held that this form of local government should be given further time in which to demonstrate its merits before judgment was passed on it and the feeling of the convention was that no one should rush in headlong for such a system on the scant knowledge thus far available. Many were decidedly mistrustful of the plan. Among these were ex-Mayor Dunne of Chicago, who pointed out that six men could run a city to the bow-wows even inside of two years. It was reported that in Newport six men run the city and that there is a council of "195 business men" that imposes the taxes. Most every city has business men who would very willingly serve in such a capacity, if they could have the say as to how much taxes they might dodge! Most of the delegates favored the old plan of a mayor and a board of aldermen, and said that the only reason there were abuses in such a system in the past was that the officials were not kept near enough to the people. They favored not only the referendum and the recall in a general way but a referendum on all important measures before becoming law. The third day was a field day for municipal ownership, but Prof. Frank Parsons, who was expected to do heavy work, was detained by sickness. His paper was read, but he was not there to handle the two other papers that were given against municipal ownership. One of these was by Walton Clarke of Philadelphia, who was a member of the Civic Federation's committee of twenty-one to investigate municipal ownership in England. The arguments presented were the old familiar ones. Clarke did not deny that municipal ownership was successful in England. He said it undoubtedly was in some cities, but he had prepared two reasons for this: 1. There was no politics in it over there. 2. The people in Great Britain and the officials were more honest. The people there were too ignorant. Among other arguments of his was one showing that in a certain publicly owned gas plant 46 per cent was paid in wages, while in a certain privately owned gas plant the per cent that went to wages was only 32. The friends of municipal ownership got after Clarke hot-foot. They held that the American public school system was taking care of such immigrants as were unfettered and ignorant, so that that problem was no problem at all. And they did not deny that public ownership paid higher wages. They pointed out that the corporations paid high dividends by underpaying the men that did the work. It was held that the best way to make a success of municipal undertakings was to pay the best kind of salaries, so that competent workers could be secured. And the private corporation was charged with being often the cause of the failure of municipal ownership, for it was corporation money that poisoned elections and put evil men into control. If the private corporations could make big dividends for themselves by carrying on public utilities, it was clear that the communities could operate their own utilities without dividends, pay good wages and give better service. And it was noticeable this year that street cars were talked of among the things that should be publicly owned and operated. The convention took strong ground in favor of home rule for cities. As at present constituted the cities are really governed by state legislatures, made up in large part by farmers who know little of city needs and care less. The state delegates a certain modicum of governmental right to the city by means of a general or special charter. The convention instructed its secretary to send a communication to each state legislature praying for home rule for cities and to also ask all mayors to appoint committees to go to the legislatures to back up the demand. A. L. Melms introduced a resolution, which was passed unanimously, to have copies of several pamphlets collected by Allan Ripley Foote of Columbus, O., sent to the various members, as being helpful where charters were to be drafted.

Government by Injunction Taft went out to Oklahoma to mix into the statehood election, in accordance with the general meddlesome program of the present owner of the presidency. And while there Taft tried to throw his bulk against the principle of the referendum and so smother it. We imagine the referendum will survive, however.

Theodore Liebeck, Milwaukee ex-street railway employee, was fined \$10 and costs in our Milwaukee police court this week, for embezzling \$10 from the company. "I spent the money for medicine for my sick wife," he told the court. "I am earning only \$10 a week, and with sickness in the family I have been unable to reimburse the company." And labor and capital is in partnership, you know!

A good specimen of the way the capitalists use the courts for their own ends is furnished by the cases of the arrested miners in the Hilb, Minn., district. When the day of trial arrived the attorney for the miners came into court with his witnesses, but the attorneys for the state were not there. Under were there any state witnesses present. They waited until it was found that the prosecution did not intend to show up and then the suits were dismissed and the miners set free. It shows clearly enough that the arrests were not made in good faith in the first place, but that the "state" was used by the mine owners as a means of intimidation. And judges will sit by and allow their courts to be used and not force the state attorneys to make a showing of their cases.

No classes in society, did you say? No class feeling, except that stirred up by agitators? Oh, we don't know! Here's a big two-column, illustrated advertisement in the Milwaukee daily papers for the Prospect-Hill Land Company. In it residence lots in Prospect Hill, the writers' old stamping ground, are urged for sale. And the advertisement says in big type: "There are no factories to pollute the air, no slark and dirty streets to traverse. THE EVIL INFLUENCE of the TENEMENT - BRED scholar is absent. Prospect Hill is an ideal spot in which to rear and educate a family." If this isn't an appeal to class to go on breeding class, then we do not understand the English language. Better change the name to Snob Hill, for the appeal is made to snobs. The "humanity" of the capitalist class sticks out of the said advertisement so that almost anyone can see what it stands for. It is the humanity that wants to herd the working class (usually pronounced "working claws," and spoken with a sneer) in tenement and factory districts and to keep them "tenement-hired" while plundering the wealth they create from them and using it in fine living on the Prospect Hills where one's children will not be "contaminated" by contact with mere working class children. The class that likes to profit by factory smoke always wants others to breathe it, you will notice. And there are no classes in society! Of course not!

The Wisconsin Supreme Court, which has long enjoyed the distinction of being one of the worst class courts in the land, has again proven true to its reputation by deciding that picketing is illegal. The courts of our day are so far removed from the common people, through the capitalist parties having the ability still to select the judges, that they constantly reflect the views and interests of the capitalist class and actually menace the lives and living of the working class. And in connection with the decision just handed down it is also interesting to note that the latest member added to the Wisconsin Supreme Bench, Justice Timlin, was in court as an attorney for the big *Allis-Chalmers Co.* in its use of the courts against the striking molders, after he had been elected to the supreme bench and before he took his seat there. And this man's elevation was urged by the "reformers" of the Republican party, and many workmen undoubtedly voted for him. So it is easy to see what "reform" will do toward getting the supreme court into sympathy with the real people. So that the Wisconsin Supreme Court is altogether likely to remain the worst labor-hating supreme court in the country until the workers definitely impress themselves upon the elections in Wisconsin, not as an aid to old party factions, but as a definite working class demand.

## SOME EDITORIAL COMMENT

A facious eastern exchange advises people to mail their own telegrams and thus save the high price the monopoly exacts for the service.

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ing things as such. And meantime the Supreme Court will look with contempt on labor until labor shows enough strength at the polls to inspire political fear.

There are eminent scientists who declare after years of painstaking investigation that vaccination is no preventive against smallpox, and also that it lowers the health of the race by introducing filth into the blood of the people, the vaccine being taken from sores on diseased cattle. They hold that the decrease of smallpox has been due to better sanitary conditions and the greater cleanliness of the people, smallpox being admittedly a filth disease. At best vaccination may be considered a debatable good, while there is the possibility of its being a very great evil, and that it poisons the blood and predisposes people to some of the more deadly "slow-burning" diseases, such as consumption, cancer, etc. In the face of this the Milwaukee school children are to be subjected to vaccination wholesale, and many of them will submit when their parents probably would not let them if they knew just what vaccination was, and that it is being challenged by science as a dangerous and mistaken practice. Because medical men endorse it means little. Medical men once upheld the practice of taking blood away from the sick as a means of cure. They once refused water to fever patients. And so on.

Commissioner of Labor Nell's investigation of strikes and lockouts in the United States for the years of 1901 to 1905 inclusive, together with summaries covering the twenty-five year period from 1881 to 1895, has been published and formally transmitted to Congress by Secretary Strauss of the department of commerce and labor. It contains valuable data concerning labor troubles in this country for the last twenty-five years.

One of the facts shown is that employees who struck succeeded in winning all the demands for which the strike was undertaken in 47.94 per cent of the establishments, succeeded partly in 15.28 per cent of the establishments, and failed to win any of the demands in 36.78 per cent of the establishments.

On the other hand, employers succeeded more often than they failed when they locked out their employees. Lockouts resulted in favor of employers in 57.20 per cent of the establishments thus involved, succeeded partly in 10.71 per cent of the establishments, and failed in 32.09 per cent of the establishments.

Without doubt one factor in the success of some of the strikes was the fact of public sympathy. People know more about the affairs of the workers than they used to, and they are beginning to see that the struggle of labor for better conditions has its effect on the standard of citizenship. Wherever strikes are clearly justified the public does not withhold its sympathy. Organized labor has still some things to learn, however. And one is that a strike should be a last resort and that boycotting should never be indulged in, unless absolutely justifiable. Every move made by labor that cannot be justified in the eyes of the public is an injury to the cause of labor—a greater injury than labor may realize at the time.

The Western Federation of Miners has succeeded in getting a copy of the itemized expense account of the Pinkertons in connection with the Haywood trial and is running it in its official magazine week after week in chapters. It makes astonishing reading. It is made up largely of incidentals, mostly booze, and there are such items as "\$40 for cigars consumed in room, Jan 11 to 31 inclusive," and the like. The expense account for the special train in which Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone were kidnapped out of Colorado and taken to Idaho chained to the car seats and under heavy guard, includes such items as \$10 for cigars, \$0 for Budweiser, and \$2.50 for Old Crow. In all the state of Idaho will have to pay to the active workers for the prosecution \$104,000, which must be just fun for the people of that state to whack up in order that the nine barons may use a state to try to put down labor organization. A list is given of the deficiency warrants already against the partially bankrupt state. Senator Borah, who is just now to be tried for conspiring to defraud the United States out of timber land, has such warrants out for \$5,000, Hawley, the state's special attorney, who was drunk through a good part of the trial, is after over \$25,000; the Pinkerton agency wants over \$30,000 and so on. Poor Idaho—and the Pettibone suit yet to come!

# ROBERT OWEN AND HIS WORK

Since 1859, when the late G. J. Holyoake brought out a pamphlet on the life of Robert Owen, who had died in the preceding year, there have been no fewer than six biographies of the founder of Socialism in England, four in English, one in German and one in French. All these books will be suspended henceforth by the two volumes collectively entitled *Robert Owen, a Biography*, by Frank Podmore (Appletons), because these are based to a large extent on a collection of letters (some three thousand in all) written to or by Owen, which were found recently and transmitted for safe-keeping to the Co-operative union at Manchester. These letters date from the year 1823, and as they begin just where the unfinished autobiography leaves off, it seems probable that they formed part of the material collected by Owen in his lifetime for the completion of that work.

We learn from the fragment of an autobiography which he published in 1857, the year before his death, that Robert Owen was born in Newtown, Montgomeryshire, North Wales, in May, 1771. His father, also named Robert, had been brought up to be a saddler, and probably an iron monger, too, as these trades were at that period often united in the small Welsh towns.

The young Robert was sent to school in his fifth year, but only remained there until he was 9, as in his class and locality a boy was thought sufficiently educated when he could read fluently, write a legible hand and understand the first four rules of arithmetic. He soon contracted a passion for reading. In his tenth year employment was procured for him in a shop in Stamford, Lincolnshire, where articles of female wear were sold. It

was agreed that he should serve the first year without pay, the second for a salary of £8 and the third for £10, board, lodging and washing being provided. From that period Robert Owen maintained himself without ever applying to his parents for aid.

Before reviewing Owen's life and work in Manchester, the biographer deems it well to recall the conditions of the time and country in which he had been born. The closing decades of the eighteenth century witnessed the final stages in the suppression of the medieval system of industry and the establishment of the present industrial and economic era. The fifty years from 1750 to 1760 had been for England years of good harvests, a slowly increasing population and an unexampled prosperity. The agricultural laborer was better off than he had been for nearly two hundred years, but his status was already changing for the worse. At the close of the seventeenth century there had been in England some 180,000 yeomen—small freeholders tilling their own land—and a large proportion of the English soil was still cultivated by villagers on the communal system; there were also millions of acres of waste land on which the poor could graze domestic animals, and even build cottages. Throughout the eighteenth century, however, the nobility and the country squires betook themselves to the enlargement and the improvement of their estates, and as a means to this end the small freeholders were gradually expropriated, until toward the close of the century the class had become almost extinct. Commons and waste lands were enclosed under successive acts of parliament, and the old wasteful three field system of the village gave way before better methods of agriculture, which permitted of more profitable rotation of crops, scientific manuring of the ground and improved breeds of sheep and cattle. These measures, while largely increasing the productivity of the soil and the general wealth of the country, had at the same time the effect of driving out the small freeholder and ultimately of making the agricultural laborer poorer and more dependent than he had been before.

It was, however, in the handicrafts and especially in the textile industries that the progress of the eighteenth century wrought most change. At the beginning of that

century the staple industry of England was the manufacture of woolen goods. The raw material was for the most part supplied from native sources and the instruments of manufacture were the spinning wheel and the hand loom. Even if this primitive machinery had admitted of consolidation in large factories the only available motive power was to be found in the water wheel and the horse mill. Moreover, in the early years of the eighteenth century commercial enterprise was exceedingly limited. In the north of England the means of internal communication long remained in a very backward state, for, owing to the bad condition of the roads and the comparative absence of inland navigation, goods could only be conveyed on pack horses. In the south and west of the country foreign trade and internal communications were more advanced, but even there the functions of capitalist, employer and workman were still, for the most part, undifferentiated.

From the very beginning the manufacture of cotton in England was concentrated chiefly in Manchester and its neighborhood. Both the fibres of which cotton cloth was during the greater part of the eighteenth century composed—until about 1770 linen thread was always used for the warp—were imported, the linen from Ireland, the cotton from the West Indies. In the first half of the eighteenth century the factory system as we understand it had not yet begun. Even when the employer supplied the raw material and sold the finished cloth, the workers for the most part provided their own spinning wheels and looms and worked in their own homes. Up to this time the machinery employed throughout Europe in spinning and weaving had scarcely advanced since the time of the Pharaohs. The distaff, indeed, had yielded to the spinning wheel, but the spinner still wrought laboriously by a single thread with such slowness that one loom, even a hand loom, required the service of six or eight spinning wheels to keep it constantly supplied. The hand loom itself was still worked by the weaver's feet, and still the invention in 1738 by the fly shuttle the thread was still passed through the warp by the weaver's hand. As yet the manufacturers of Manchester could not compete in fineness with the fabrics of India, wrought by still ruder machinery, nor make a thread of cotton strong enough to be used for the warp.

From 1738 onward there came, however, in rapid succession, a number of inventions, each aiming at substituting mechanical devices for the slow and uncertain operations of human fingers in spinning. John Wyatt, Thomas Higgs, James Hargreaves, Richard Arkwright and Samuel Crompton are the chief names on this roll of honor. Hargreaves invented the spinning jenny, the device being named after his wife, and Arkwright the water frame. Both inventions were actually brought into use for commercial purposes between 1760 and 1770, and a few years later Crompton produced a new machine called the "mule" because it combined the

characteristic merits of two preceding inventions.

In the early years of the nineteenth century steam began to displace water as the motive power in mills and factories, but when Robert Owen came to Manchester—about 1788—the spinning machinery employed in the great mills which were springing up on every side in Manchester was worked by water power, while manufacturers on a smaller scale drove the spinning jennies and mules by hand or foot. During the last twenty years of the eighteenth century there was an enormous expansion of cotton manufactures, the amount of raw cotton imported annually into Great Britain increasing from less than 7,000,000 pounds in 1780, to 56,000,000 pounds in 1880. In the same two decades the value of the cotton cloths annually exported increased from £355,000 to £5,400,000. By 1787 there were forty-one cotton mills in Lancashire, and fifty years later the number has increased to 657, while the number of operatives employed in them was computed at more than 137,000. By the latter date the industrial revolution may be said to have been complete and the cottage industry had practically ceased to exist except in a few moorland parishes and other remote corners of England.

Three years after his removal to Manchester, Owen was appointed superintendent of a cotton factory employing 500 hands, and within a twelvemonth so improved the process of manufacture that he produced yarns running from 250 to 300 hanks to the pound instead of 120 hanks, the utmost fineness attained under his predecessor. In 1794 or 1795 he became a partner in the Chorlton Twist Company, and in 1799 purchased cotton mills at New Lanark from David Dale of Glasgow, agreeing to pay therefor £60,000 in twenty annual installments. In the same year he married a daughter of Mr. Dale and took possession of a sumptuously equipped house called Greenheys. We should here mention that in 1794 Owen became intimately acquainted with Robert Fulton and made him known to the aggregate of 170, only a part of which was paid. In his old age Owen referred to the incident with considerable pride in having been able to help one who was to do so much for the advancement of the world through his application of steam power to navigation.

It is well known that the industrial revolution which took place in England toward the close of the eighteenth century had some disastrous effects upon the working people through the extensive employment of child labor and the prevalence of malignant fever, which was due to the non-sanitary condition of the factories. In those days it was the practice to compel pauper children, from the age of 6 upward to do useful work, either in the workshop itself or as apprentices to outside employers. In the early years of the application of machinery and steam power to cotton manufactures multitudes of them were sent to the spinning mills. Even where the mill owners were themselves liberal and humane, like Owen's father-in-law, David Dale, the vicious system still permitted all manner of iniquity and oppression. The ages of the children when apprenticed to Mr. Dale were from 5 to 8 and the hours of labor in the mills at New Lanark from 6 in the morning to 7 in the evening. Owen, in his evidence before the committee of 1816, explained that from these thirteen hours were to be deducted one and a half hours allowed for meals, but even so, the children worked eleven and a half hours a day. Remedial legislation began in the act of 1802, which Sir Robert Peel carried through parliament, and the general conditions of child labor in the cotton factories were still further improved by the act of 1819. It

was not until 1816 that Owen, having been hampered by his partners, had been enabled to reduce the nominal hours of work at the New Lanark mills to twelve hours a day. He ultimately succeeded in raising the lower limit of age at which children could be employed to 10 years.

The name of Robert Owen is little known to the present generation as an educational reformer. We find scant mention of him in encyclopaedia articles on education. Two causes are suggested for the undeserved oblivion which has fallen on this part of his life's work. In the first place he published no formal treatise on pedagogy and did not even find time to write a systematic account of the scheme of instruction actually pursued in the New Lanark schools. The main reason, however, for the forgetfulness of the work accomplished by him in this field was doubtless the ambiguous reputation acquired by Owen the Socialist, which eclipsed the fame of Owen the founder of infant schools and the pioneer in Britain of rational education.

Robert Owen's ideas about education had the defect characteristic of the self-taught thinker; they were already belated, even at the time when he applied them. In his exaggeration of the importance of post-natal circumstances in forming character he was guided by his bias of the eighteenth century thinkers. As a matter of fact, however, the reaction against the pre-revolutionary philosophy had set in long before 1813, and the great conception of evolution was even then dawning on the world. The plain facts of heredity, though not, of course, hulked so large as in modern thought, were recognized as counting for much more than Robert Owen imagined. It is also to be remarked that his first years at New Lanark shut him off to a great extent from intercourse with educated men, and the extraordinary success of his effort for the regeneration of the miniature society over which he exercised lordship confirmed him in the belief that man is the creature of circumstances and that the reconstruction of the world, when this truth is grasped firmly, is merely a question of the adaptation of means to ends.

Owen's name was first brought conspicuously before the public by an essay published in 1813 under the title of a "New View of Society," followed as it was by other essays advocating social and political reforms—reforms based on the ideas put forward in England some twenty years before by Godwin in his "Political Justice." He had an interview with Lord Liverpool, the prime minister, and Lord Sidmouth, then home secretary, undertook to circulate the privately printed edition of the essays among the governments and learned bodies of Europe and America. The Archbishop of Canterbury invited him to Lambeth, that Owen might read to him the later essays while still in manuscript, and afterward expressed a desire to correspond with their author on the subject. Among other acquaintances made by Owen at this time was the Archbishop of Armagh, several bishops, and Clarkson, Wilberforce, Zachary Macaulay, Malthus, James Mill, Ricardo and Sir James Mackintosh. A copy of the essays even reached Napoleon in his retirement at Elba, and Owen in his old age expressed the belief that the destinies of Europe might have been changed if the allied sovereigns had allowed the exile to return peacefully to his throne, and thence carry into effect the good resolutions with which the "New View of Society" had inspired him.

(Continued on page 4.)

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## PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY.

The Principles of International Collectivism as set forth in the National Platform, adopted at Chicago, May 8, 1904.

I. We, the Socialist party, in convention assembled, make our appeal to the American people as the defender and preserver of the idea of liberty and self-government, in which the nation was born; as the only political movement standing for the program and principles by which the liberty of the individual may become a fact; as the only political organization that is democratic, and that has for its purpose the democratization of the whole society.

To this idea of liberty the Republican and Democratic parties are alike false. They alike struggle for power to maintain and profit by an industrial system which can be preserved only by the complete overthrow of such liberties as we already have, and by the still further enslavement and degradation of labor.

Our American institutions came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been seized upon by the capitalist class as the means of robbing out the idea of freedom from among the people. Our state and national legislatures have become the mere agents of great property interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges and our courts. They have

come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using these to betray and conquer foreign and weaker people, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take away the right of the worker to a vote or voice in public affairs. By enacting new and misinterpreting old laws they are preparing to take the liberty of the individual even to speak or think for himself or for the common good.

By controlling all the sources of social revenue, the possessing class is able to silence what might be the voice of protest against the passing of liberty and the coming of tyranny. It completely controls the university, the public school, the pulpit and the press, the arts and literatures. By making these economically dependent upon itself, it has brought all the forms of public teaching into servile submission to its own interests.

Our political institutions are also being used as the destroyers of the individual property upon which all liberty and opportunity depend. The promise of economic independence to each man was one of the faiths in which our institutions were founded. But under the guise of defending private property, capitalism is using our political institutions to make it impossible for the vast majority of human beings to ever become possessors of private property in the means of life.

Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is through the legal confiscation of all that the labor of the working class produces above subsistence wage. The private ownership of the means of employment grounds society in an economic slavery which renders intellectual and political tyranny inevitable.

Social-Democracy comes to so organize industry and society that every individual shall be secure in that private property in the means of life upon which his liberty of being, thought and action depend. It comes to rescue the people from the economic slavery and successful assault of capitalism upon the liberty of the individual.

II.

As an American Social-Democratic party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of the International Social-Democratic party, embodied in the united thought and action of the Social-Democrats of all nations. In the industrial development already accomplished, the interests of the world workers are separated by no national boundaries. The condition of the most exploited and oppressed workers, in the most remote places of the earth, inevitably tends to drag down all the workers of the world to the same level. The tendency of the competitive wage system is to make labor's lowest condition the measure or rule of its universal condition. Industry and finance are no longer national, but international, both in organization and results. The chief significance of national boundaries and of the so-called patriotism which the ruling class of each nation is seeking to give to capitalists to keep the workers of the world from uniting, and to throw them against each other in the struggle of contending capitalists for the control of the yet unexploited markets of the world, or the remaining sources of profit.

The Social-Democratic movement, therefore, is a world movement. It knows of no conflicts of interest between the workers of one nation and the workers of another. It stands for the freedom of the workers of all nations; and, in so standing, it makes for the full freedom of all humanity.

III.

The Social-Democratic movement owes its birth and growth to that economic development of world-process which is rapidly separating a working or producing class from a possessing or capitalist class. The class that produces nothing possesses the labor's fruits, and the opportunities and enjoyment these fruits afford, while the class that does the world's real work has increasing economic uncertainty, and physical and intellectual misery, as its portion.

The fact that these two classes have not yet become fully conscious of their distinction from each other, the fact that the lines of division and interest may not yet be clearly drawn, does not change the fact of the class conflict.

This class struggle is due to the private ownership of the means of employment, or the tools of production. Wherever and whenever man owned his own land and tools, and by them produced only the things which he used, and consumed, no class was possible. But production, or the making of goods, has long since ceased to be individual. The labors of scores, or even thousands, enter into almost every article produced. Production is now social or collective. Practically everything is made or done by many men—sometimes separated by seas and continents—working together for the same end. But this cooperation in production is not for the direct use of the things made by the workers who make them, but for the profit of the owners of the tools and means of production; and to this is due the present division of society into two distinct classes; and from it has sprung all the miseries, inhumanities and contradictions of our civilization.

Between these two classes there can be no possible compromise or identity of interest, any more than

there can be peace in the midst of war, or light in the midst of darkness. A society based upon this class division carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction. Such a society is founded on fundamental injustice. There can be no possible basis for social peace, for individual freedom, for mental harmony, except in the conscious and complete triumph of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be.

IV.

The Social-Democratic program is not a theory imposed upon society for its acceptance or rejection. It is but the interpretation of what is, sooner or later, inevitable. Capitalism is already struggling to its destruction. It is no longer competent to organize or administer the work of the world, or even to preserve itself. The captains of industry are appalled at their own inability to control or direct the rapidly socializing forces of industry. The so-called trust is but a sign and form of this developing socialization of the world's work. The universal increase of the uncertainty and instability of the capitalist determination to break down the unity of labor in the trades unions, the widespread apprehensions of impending change, reveal that the constitutions of capitalist society are passing under the power of inhering forces that will soon destroy them.

Into the midst of this strain and crisis of civilization, the Social-Democratic movement comes as the only saving or conservative force. If the world is to be saved from chaos, from universal disorder and misery, it must be by the union of the workers of all nations in the Social-Democratic movement. The Social-Democratic party comes with the only proposition for the maintenance and deliberate organizing of the nation for the common good of all its citizens. It is the first time that the mind of man has ever been directed toward the conscious organization of society.

Social-Democracy means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall be by the people in common owned and administered. It means that the tools of employment shall belong to their creators and users; that all production shall be for the direct use of the producers; that the making of goods for profit shall come to an end; that we shall all be workers together, and that opportunities shall be open and equal to all men.

V.

To that end that the workers may seize every possible advantage that may strengthen them to gain complete control of the powers of government and thereby the sooner establish the co-operative commonwealth, the Social-Democratic party pledges itself to watch and work in both the economic and political struggle for each successive immediate interest of the working class, for shortened days of labor and increases of wages; for the insurance of the workers against accident, sickness and lack of employment; for pensions for aged and exhausted workers; for the public ownership of the means of transportation, communication and industry; for the graduated taxation of income, inheritance, and of franchise and land values, the proceeds to be applied to the public employment and bettering the conditions of the worker's children and their freedom from the workshop; for the equal suffrage of men and women; for the prevention of the use of weapons of war; for the free administration of justice; for popular government, including initiative, referendum, proportional representation, and the recall of officers by their constituents; and for every gain or advantage for the workers that may be wrested from the capitalist system, and that may relieve the suffering and strengthen the hands of labor. We lay upon every man elected to any executive or legislative office the first duty of striving to procure whatever is for the workers' most immediate interest, and for whatever will lessen the economic and political powers of the capitalist class, and increase the like powers of the workers.

But, in so doing, we are using these remedial measures as means to the one great end of the co-operative commonwealth. Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry, and thus come into their rightful inheritance.

To this end we pledge ourselves, as the party of the working class, to use all political power, as fast as it shall be entrusted to us by our fellow-workers, both for the ultimate and complete emancipation of the working class, and to all who will lend their lives to the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their own, and to all who will nobly and disinterestedly give their days and energies into the workers' cause, to cast their lot and faith with the Social-Democratic party. Our appeal for the trust and suffrages of our fellow workers is at once an appeal for the common good and freedom, and for the freedom and blossoming of our common humanity. In pledging ourselves and those which we present to be faithful to the appeal which we make, we believe that we are but preparing the soil of the economic freedom of the whole man.

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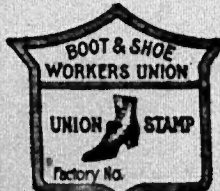


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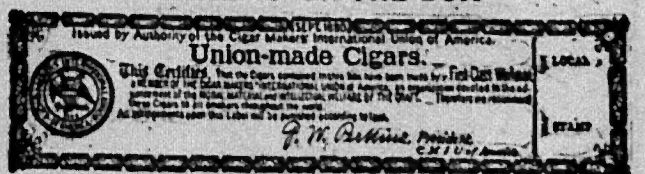
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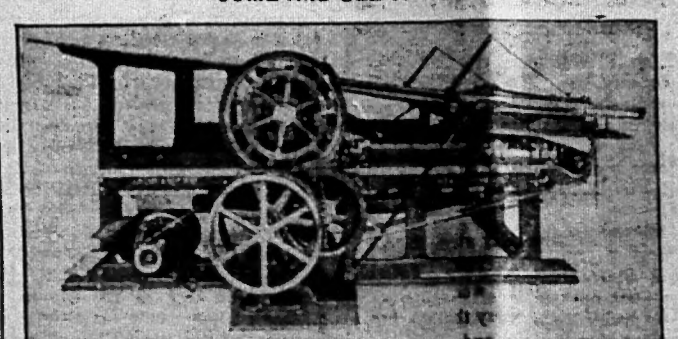
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## SUPPLICATING WAGE SLAVES

CAPITALISTS THINK THEY GIVE THEM BREAD.

Let the Workers Realize the Economic Truth and Keep the Dignity That Becomes Their Worth to the World.

By Henry T. Jones.

Even during the most prosperous times this glorious country has experienced, the employer believes he is doing his employees a great favor by keeping them at work. The master class imagines that it has been granted or forced into a position of stewardship whereby the "hands" hired and paid by this employing class are dependent upon them for a chance to work and enjoy some of the bounties of the earth. And the very conditions under which the employing class live foster this belief. For if this master class goes into business in competition with others in the same line of trade, and is unable to scheme and conceive to get on top of the competitive strife, in spite of the low wages and long hours he is forced to work his employees, the business collapses and the few making up the working force, or the thousands, whichever it may be, are compelled to go out and seek another master.

Evidences of the beauties of this competitive strife I have seen in all parts of the country. In the south there are factories and mills which cost millions, which are now closed; in Alabama, near Anniston, the methods of the steel trust closed a million dollar plant; in Delaware,

near Corlington, the \$2,000,000 plant of the Diamond State Steel company is being laid waste by idleness and rust; all through Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey and elsewhere, are the ruins of wasted wealth, and the grim evidence of the time when hundreds of thousands of men were forced to join the ranks of the unemployed. Those, too, are evidences of blasted hopes of the employing class, who passed through the terrible ordeal of bankruptcy or voluntary liquidation.

At the same time the employing class, which does succeed in piling up enormous profits, imagines itself a benefactor of the useful working class. John D. Rockefeller, in a public interview, after the Standard Oil company had been fined \$29,000,000, even went so far as to compare himself to the cart-horse and said he was a most abused individual, because the public insisted upon declaring his business methods a crime. He really imagines he is most charitable when he permits thousands of men to work for him and to get from him only three-fourths or one-half what they earn for his company.

And the strange part of the whole affair is that the man who goes to seek a job from the Standard Oil company or any other master also is most grateful to the employer for the opportunity he gets to make money for somebody else. He is content to accept the small end of the fruits of his labor. This certainly is a most unselfish spirit, and when one of the plutocratic class declares that the fault of the human race is selfishness he certainly must be wrong, for the great majority of mankind—fully 90 per cent of the population of the world—is unselfish enough to contentedly accept one quarter of its due

and permit the non-producing ruling class to take the three-quarters.

"We take chances when we invest our thousands or millions," says the master class, "and consequently our profits should be large. Competition may force us into losses."

We Socialists kill that argument with the statement that it is equally as wrong for a man to go into business and lose a thousand or a million dollars a year as it is to make just as much in profits. The post-office department is conducted at a loss for the benefit of the people, and the entire population of the United States gladly contributes its share to the loss. So, if it is necessary to conduct any enterprise at a loss for the benefit of the community, the people will not hesitate to sustain it.

But the main point I wished to make is, that the working class always goes to the master class in a most supplicating way and begs to be given an opportunity to go to work. Advertisements for workers invariably call forth a dozen or more seeking the same job, and when the one is picked out by the employer, or his agent, he is regarded by his fellows as a "lucky dog," and the person employing him regards himself as a benefactor who is giving a wage-slave an opportunity to go to work. Why, my friends, that very condition of things should be the reverse. The man who employs another to make money for him should be exceedingly grateful to the man or woman who is willing to sell for profit his or her labor. And when an employer hands you out your wages, and you say, "Thank you, sir," he should reply by saying: "My dear man, the pleasure is mine. I am exceedingly grateful for what you have done for me. You need not thank me for your own money, for you not only earned it all, but something besides for me."

And if you hadn't earned it all, and a profit as well for the master, you certainly would not hold your job long, or bankruptcy proceedings would be the result for the employer.

Fellow workers, can you appreciate the injustices of that employment idea I have endeavored to illustrate to you? If you cannot you will always be the supplicating wage-slave.

### Carl Schurz on Democracy.

In his "Reminiscences" (McClure's Magazine) Carl Schurz gives the reply to those superior gentlemen who are against true democracy because they believe the people cannot be trusted in matters of government.

"The people may commit follies or mistakes ever so serious, but, having committed those follies or mistakes themselves, and upon their own responsibility, they will be apt to profit by their own experience. If those mistakes were rectified by some superior authority, the people would be apt to run into the same mistakes again. If the people are left to correct the mistakes themselves they will more surely progress in wisdom as well as in the sense of responsibility. What ever stands upon the bottom of the popular intelligence, stands upon far firmer ground than that which rests merely upon superior authority."

And in the same article, speaking of the duty that lay upon him in the slavery contest, he points out the duty of every man in a democracy to take sides and battle for the right as he sees it.

"After the senate, on the morning of the 4th of March, 1854, had passed the Kansas-Nebraska bill, returned from Washington to Philadelphia. I took with me some profound impressions. I had seen the slave power officially represented by some of its foremost champions—defiant, dictatorial, vehemently demanding a chance for unlimited expansion, and to secure its own existence, threatening the most vital principles of free institutions, right of free inquiry and of free utterance—aye, threatening the Union, the national republic itself. I had seen, in alliance with the slave power, not only far-reaching material interests and a sincere and easily intimidated conservatism, but a selfish and despotic party spirit and a reckless and unscrupulous

demagoguery, making a tremendous effort to confuse and to subjugate the moral sense of the north. I had seen, standing against this tremendous array of forces, a small band of anti-slavery men, fighting the battle of freedom and civilization. I saw the decisive contest rapidly approaching, and I felt an irresistible impulse to prepare myself for usefulness, however modest, in the impending crisis; and to that end I pursued with increased assiduity, my studies of the political history and the social conditions of the republic, and of the theory and practical workings of its institutions."

H. B. Wainwright.

### Direct Legislation.

A direct answer is made by Municipal Affairs of Los Angeles to the objection to direct legislation that it is expensive. It observes that Los Angeles has had rights of direct legislation since 1903. In those four years there has been a recall of one councilman; it cost \$1,000. There has been one referendum at a special election; it cost \$8,500. There has been one referendum at a general election; it cost nothing. And one franchise grant worth \$1,000,000 has been allowed to die for fear of a referendum; it cost nothing. The total expense of the law has therefore been \$9,500, or \$2,375 a year; and the total saving at least \$1,000,000, or \$250,000 a year. As Municipal Affairs says, the expense was "a very modest charge for insurance against legislation that is disapproved by the people," to say nothing of the amount saved by the legal possibility of a referendum. Men who object to direct legislation on the ground of its expense, may be safely regarded as thinking less of saving money for the city than of getting money for themselves. —The Public.

### Socialism Growing Sober.

That Socialism is becoming conservative is a fair statement of the impression produced in the outside world by the international congress which met at Stuttgart during the week of August 18-25. The practical spirit which made itself manifest in the resolutions adopted by some nine hundred delegates from all the six continents, is not an entirely new phenomenon in the Socialist movement, for it is no paradox to say that both the recent triumphs and recent defeats of the party have served to sow its leaders with a sense of responsibility that we are not accustomed to associate with the utterances of the extreme collectivist partisan. On the one hand, if Socialists feel convinced, as Edward Bernstein declared at Stuttgart, that their "world-parliaments were becoming increasingly the arbiters of the casting vote," the pressure of practical considerations would act in the

direction of a wise self-restraint. On the other hand, if the German Social-Democrats, as frankly avowed by Bebel, have learned from this year's reichstag elections that the spirit of nationality cannot be antagonized without serious consequences, that, too, would be a powerful argument for moderation. Evidently, the Socialists are discovering that, like every other party or creed, they must take public feeling seriously into account.

Of the questions which the Stuttgart congress took under consideration, the four most important were anti-militarism, colonialization, and freedom of emigration and immigration, and the policy that should govern the relations of Socialists as a political party toward the labor unions. The question of anti-militarism was of acute importance to the French Socialists, whose ranks it has badly disorganized. Herveism, as the movement is called in France, after its most uncompromising exponent, teaches that it is the duty of the working class to make war impossible by all means in their power—refusal to serve in the army, insubordination, armed strike, and, in the case of the actual declaration of hostilities, by armed insurrection. The anti-militarist agitation has placed the French Socialist leaders in parliament in an extremely difficult position. M. Jaures has dared neither to break with Herve because of the latter's powerful following, nor, for obvious reasons, openly to embrace his views. His attempts at compromise have not been conspicuously successful, and the congress of French Socialists which met two weeks ago at Nancy adopted a resolution which is conceded to have signified a placatory triumph for the anti-militarists. "I see," a French paper makes an honest citizen say, "that Jaures has rejected Herve's views." "Yes," replies his neighbor, "with open arms."

Herveism, at Stuttgart, was bitterly assailed by the German and English Socialists. To the latter it was, possibly, more or less an academic question, but to the Germans the matter was vital. If we should adopt the anti-militarist propaganda, Bebel declared in substance, our three million Socialist votes would disappear. In other words, close as the Socialist creed may be to the heart of the average German Social-Democrat, it cannot as yet venture to disregard such elementary sentiments as national and local patriotism. Herve, with the terrible logic of the fanatic, demanded of Bebel what the German Social-Democrat would do if war was declared between Germany and France, and the French Socialist should rise in insurrection. Bebel did not reply. But when Herve asked again, "For whom shall we, then, be fighting?" the Belgian leader, Vandervelde, responded, "For the king of Prussia!" The congress thought so, too. It passed a resolution calling upon Socialists to exert their influence to prevent war, but—significantly—if war did exist, to labor for the re-establishment of peace; a declaration which my middle-class congress might have adopted.

The English Independent Labor party had submitted to the international Socialist bureau an amendment abolishing the requirement that trades unions invited to participate in the international congresses must be "formally based on the principle of class struggle." The bureau recommended that the amendment be rejected. The congress adopted a resolution declaring for the establishment of close relations between the various national Socialist parties and the labor unions. The latter, it went on to say, could not take effective part in the regeneration of the working class unless they were imbued with the Socialist spirit. This may be called a moderate declaration because it is capable of being variously interpreted. In Germany, where the party and the labor unions work hand in hand and are equally Marxian in their tendencies, it can do no harm. In Great Britain, where the trades unions "imbued with the Socialist spirit" without being quite prepared to base themselves "formally on the

principle of class-struggle," it does not compel them to do so. Comprehensiveness, and not rigid orthodoxy, is the keynote of a policy that hopes, as M. Vandervelde declared, to conquer the world as primitive Christianity did.

In the matter of emigration and immigration the Australian and American delegates argued for a policy of restriction. Socialists though they were, they could not escape the limitations of their environment, which in Australia calls aloud for an "all-white" Australia and in San Francisco invokes the danger of yellow peril. The congress declared again the importation of foreign laborers "as strike-breakers," a formula which the restrictionists could accept with perfect good grace on the principle that exclusion by any other name is just as sweet.

Only on the question of colonialization did the radicals carry the congress. Colonialism was condemned in 1879, but only by a bare majority of nineteen, and after a commission had reported in favor of a moderate declaration on the subject. Both sides agreed that colonial expansion brought no direct benefit to the working class, which had to bear the cost of foreign adventure in money and lives. But whereas the minority maintained that external growth on the part of a nation was, after all, in line with the general course of history, their opponents successfully upheld the thesis that civilized society must first establish justice at home before it set out to teach justice to the heathen. —N. Y. Evening Post.

### Big Cry and Little Wool.

Milwaukee Daily News: There has been a noticeable disposition on the part of the administration to spare the great offenders when it has disarmed them. At times the public has been led up to the point where it expected to see a procession of pork packers, trust magnates and rebaters headed for the penitentiary, but its expectations have not been realized. Moderation has governed the administrators and prosecutors.

### The Freedom of the Press.

Thomas Cooper said several generations ago, "Grant to our rulers the right of controlling the press, and the empire of mystery, of political tyranny, of ignorance and bigotry will remain forever unshaken." Again, "Every new generation is obliged to rescue the most precious of its principles—the freedom of the press—from the insidious encroachments of power."

Over a century ago Lord Erskine said, "The press, my lords, is one of our out-cries; if we remove it, if we broodwink it, if we throw it in fetters, the enemy may surprise us."

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By Tom Selby.

"No man can work too hard, or hours too long, if his health will permit."—Prof. Eliot of Harvard University.

Said the miner deep down in the earth (And he laughed at the humor of it.)

"It's a joy and a revel to dig like the devil.

As long as my health will permit, And, although it's a loss of delight to the boss,

He doesn't seem jealous a bit! Said a girl in the thundering mill, With a smile that was grateful and sweet:

"It's pleasant, this spinning; I fear that I'm sinning, In wanting to sleep and to eat! Oh, it would be so grand to be able to stand

The other twelve hours on my feet."

Said the child in the tenement shop: "Don't send me to play, if you please; I'd rather be sewing and stitching, you know.

In this hotbed of filth and disease, For a sweatshop, you see, is dearer to me

Than the birds and the blossoming trees!" Said the college professor with glee:

"They think I'm in earnest, but—shaw! I'm boss of a college, and that's why my knowledge

Impresses the rabble with awe; But I'm out for my health, and honor and wealth

By working my graft, and my jaw!"

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# Social-Democratic Herald

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FREDERIC HEATH, Editor. VICTOR L. BERGER, Associate.

## FOR OUR NEW READERS:

THIS COUNTRY is made up principally of working people, both industrial and agricultural, but it is ruled by the capitalist class, which is numerically a very small fraction of the population. Being in control, that class runs the government in its own interests and against the interests of the rest of the people.

We Socialists believe that the country should be managed in the interests and for the well-being of those who produce the wealth. That is what government is for in the first place. The means of existence are now privately owned by capitalists, who comprise only twelve per cent of the population. By means of this private ownership a mere ONE PER CENT of the people OWN OVER HALF OF THE WEALTH OF THE NATION, and the concentration is going on at a phenomenal speed.

The means of production should be owned by the community, in order that the fruits of industry may go to the MANY, instead of to the FEW.

Under the present capitalist system, the majority of mankind must sell their labor power to the capitalist owners of the means of production and distribution, in order to live—and to live very miserably at that.

The people own the post office, and everybody is glad of the fact. The people ought also to own all the trusts, so that all may enjoy the benefits. They ought to own every industry as soon as it has become sufficiently concentrated and organized to permit of such common ownership.

To bring this about, the people—that is, the workers, not the shirkers—must have possession of the political power. The Social-Democratic party (known as the Socialist party in some states, and nationally) is organized to bring this about—through the abolition of capitalism. We insist that the industries can and shall be run by the workers, and the idle class the poor and dependent class—all such Social-Democratic will, in time, abolish all poverty and eliminate the drudgery.

The Social-Democratic movement is international, but will double its achievement in the United States first, because the capitalist system is farthest developed here and thus made greater headway in preparing the ground for the higher system of society.

To show you that your interests lie with us we give herewith the following:

### Program of International Social-Democracy:

1. Collective ownership of all industries in the hands of trusts and combines, and of all public utilities.
2. The democratic management of such collective industries and utilities.
3. Reduction of the hours of labor and progressively increased remuneration.
4. State and national insurance for the workers and honorable rest in old age.
5. The inauguration of public industries to safeguard the workers against lack of employment.
6. Education of ALL children up to the age of eighteen years. No child labor.
7. Equal political and civil rights for both men and women. Emancipation of women.

IF YOU BELIEVE IN THE ABOVE, VOTE WITH THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS.

The authorities of Spokane must begin to think they have caught a Tartar in the person of Comrade Ida Crouch-Hazlett, whom they arrested on a trumped-up charge of obstructing the streets with her street meetings. When they arrested her the populace went too, and then when she was out on bail she held another street meeting with a crowd around her of uncountable numbers, and it began to dawn on the officials that they had simply helped her get a big audience to propagate Socialism amongst. Oddly enough, when she was "run in" the police also nabbed a young man who had been trying to get his brother to give up Socialism and had followed him to the meeting to try to get him away. Having grabbed him in their crazy efforts to "handle" the crowd, they were forced to trump up a story to justify the arrest and to provide "witnesses" also. The young man's arrest opened his eyes to the class conflict and he has now proclaimed himself a Socialist, and they say he is a hot one, too. Mrs. Hazlett's case has been adjourned, and the Socialists will fight it to the bitter end.

We are in receipt of a little paper called *The Polish Press*, said to be the organ of the Polish Newspaper Association of America, in which is set forth the case of a Polish priest in Milwaukee and the surprising treatment that it claims he is receiving at the hands of his archbishop, meaning, of course, Archbishop Messner. Can such things really exist, or is the paper misstating. Here is, in substance, the charge that the paper brings:

Do you remember Governor Pennypacker's, of Pennsylvania, newspaper-laws? Well, it was of the strenuous kind, and according to its provisions any editor criticizing any "his honor" was a sure candidate for the chain and stripes.

But—the "American people" tolerate worse laws than that. Listen: In a certain city that a certain brew made famous, there is an Archbishop

of the Roman Catholic Church, who proclaims that "the (Catholic) Church is not a republic or democracy, but a monarchy," and that the duty of his Catholic subjects is to obey the laws of the monarchs (bishops) of the church before they give due consideration to the laws of the lay government. And while other divines have made similar declarations, they have at least duly respected the letter and spirit of the constitution and laws of "republican or democratic" people's government—government which grants them no privileges, nor asks anything in return. Not so this Archbishop in question. He may sometimes proclaim theories which may sound "broad" and "liberal," and "republican or democratic." But all his acts are decidedly monarchistic.

There is a Polish priest in his diocese who had the misfortune of incurring the Archbishop's displeasure by asking for the Poles equal rights with other nationalities in the church (of course, under a monarchical government you have no right to ask for "equal rights"). You may beg humbly for grants, favors, or even privileges; and you get them if you are servile enough, and flattering enough, and "faithful" to the monarch. But the moment you ask for "equal rights" you are a "dangerous rebel" that ought to be suppressed, or even exterminated.

It seems that this Polish priest in question did not realize all this. However, the people's good is not always agreeable with the policy of the sovereign. So this Archbishop in question decided to "suppress" the priest whose Christian ideals did not coincide with the political policy of "his government." In order to do this more effectively, the Archbishop acquired a little Polish weekly paper, and appointed a servile young priest, a teacher in the theological seminary, as its editor. This organ does nothing else but abuse the Polish priest in question, in every edition, using for that purpose sometimes as many as fifteen and twenty columns. Now, mind you, this abused Polish priest is not charged by the Archbishop with any heresy, or any schism; he is not accused by the Archbishop of any false teachings, or secession; for he does not and never did teach anything contradictory to the doctrines of the Catholic Church, and is and always was its faithful and able supporter. And the Archbishop, the theoretical successor of the Apostles of Christ, publicly "approves and blesses" the good, Christian work of his paper! Some time ago the accusations were

of such wild and libelous character that the priest in question—and others—intended to bring libel suits against the paper. Here the Archbishop interfered and rendered an opinion—his opinion on the libel laws of the Catholic Church. He gave the abused priest, and others, plainly to understand that a "priest cannot commence a suit in any lay court without the permission of his bishop," nor can a lay Catholic commence a suit against a priest without the permission of the bishop of his diocese. And the Archbishop advised the libeled priest to bring the suit against the editor of the paper before him, the Archbishop! Of course, to do otherwise meant to be "excommunicated for disobedience to the sovereign bishop." The paper being the Archbishop's organ and its priest-editor the Archbishop's tool, no sane man would believe that the Archbishop would decide the case against himself and his servant.

The abused priest asked for permission to defend himself in the newspapers; but even this request was not granted.

The libel suit was brought by the libeled priest before the Archbishop some months ago; but up to this time nothing has been done by him. The libeled priest has appealed to the papal delegate in Washington; but—aside of the acknowledgement of the receipt—nothing else has been heard from there.

In the meantime the abuse of the Polish priest in question goes merrily on in the columns of the Archbishop's "Christian" organ, always with the approval and blessing of the Archbishop! He is forbidden by the Archbishop to defend himself in the newspapers; he is forbidden to ask justice and protection in the courts of the land.

Now, remember all this is not happening in the dark ages, during the reign of "holy inquisitions," nor in barbarous China, Turkey, or Russia. It is taking place in the enlightened twentieth century, in the "land of the free," where every one is guaranteed by the Constitution freedom of speech and a speedy trial by his peers.

But the results of this mediæval persecution are already visible. The Poles are naturally antagonistic to Socialistic doctrines—and very few cities can boast of Polish Socialists. But the realm of this monarchical Archbishop is already full of them! And, as one Polish writer says: "In the face of such shameful and outrageous treatment of the Polish people and true Christian priests, in the face of the disgraceful conduct and financing of the Archbishop's favorites, it is no wonder that so many Poles here are going over to the Socialists; it is a wonder that there are still lay Poles here who are not yet Socialists."

All this is certainly surprising. Does this paper expect us to believe that a government has been set up within our government by which a man who happens to be a priest loses the commonest rights of citizenship? Or that such a man cannot even appeal for justice higher up in the church of God? And does it expect us to believe that a man of exalted position in the church would throw aside the precepts of common justice taught by the lowly Nazarene and use his position to crush a man weaker than himself for personal reasons? We cannot gainsay this, of course. But we do positively deny that any fight between a priest and the Archbishop can account for the spread of Socialism among the Polish citizens. The Poles are becoming Socialists because of economic conditions. They are becoming members of our party because our principles and our propaganda appeal to their reason and their intelligence.

Milwaukee Daily News.—Wherever Mr. Roosevelt has meddled in local politics invariably he has cast his influence in the cause of bad government. He was with the Pennsylvania capital thieves. He was with the franchise grabbers in Chicago. In New York, where he may find justification for interfering, he forced Depew's re-election. He has been a "practical man" all the time. In Cleveland he sees opportunity to make a foothold of municipal politics to further his greater political ends.

"Never has the referendum done more perfect work than in its slaughter of the rogues' charter upon which the people of Chicago have just voted," says the *Public*.

## ROBERT OWEN — Continued.

There is no doubt that, like all other education reformers since the French Revolution, Owen derived his views from Rousseau, or from the movement of thought, which Rousseau was the most conspicuous pioneer and exponent. The general similarity of his ideas with those of Rousseau, or of Rousseau's disciple, Pestalozzi, leaves no room for controversy on this point. The debt on Owen's part, however, was apparently unrecognized by him. There is no allusion to Rousseau in any of his writings, and of Pestalozzi he seems not to have heard until he went in 1819 to the continent and there visited the school of Oberlin at Fribourg, of Fellenberg at Hofwyl, and of Pestalozzi himself, at Yverdon.

The clearest account of the system of infant education pursued at New Lanark is given by Owen himself. The infant school, he relates, was opened on January 2, 1816. All children above a year old were, if the parents were willing, to be sent to the school.

To the teachers eventually chosen his first instruction was never on any provocation to use harsh words or actions to the children. Further, while showing in themselves examples of uniform kindness, they were to endeavor by every means in their power to inculcate a like spirit of kindness in the children in their dealings with each other. The children, he recalls in his biography, were not to be annoyed with books; but were to be taught the uses of nature and qualities of the common things around them by familiar conversation when their curiosity was excited so as to induce them to ask questions about them.

The fundamental principle of Owen's method of educating infants was to make everything interesting and amusing to them. It was, Owen says in his autobiography, most encouraging and delightful to see the progress which the infants and children made in real knowledge without the use of books. He noted, whether, when the best means of imparting instruction or of forming character should be used, known books would ever have attained their tenth year. He insisted that without books children would have a superior character formed for them by the age of ten.

The general principle underlying the whole of the New Lanark system was the exclusion of all artificial rewards or punishments. Owen held that such artificial incentives to action are harmful, as disguising the operation of natural and social laws, substituting false and erroneous notions of the world, and generally leaving the character weak and unstable.

A chapter is devoted to the work done or attempted by Robert Owen in the second decade of the nineteenth century for the unemployed. The problem which he tried to solve was urgent. During the twenty years of war with the French Republic and Empire Great Britain had the lion's share of the carrying trade of the world, but in July, 1815, when the long contest was closed, the continental industries revived and Britain's foreign trade was proportionately curtailed. Moreover, the island's labor market was disturbed by the sudden disbandment of the huge military and naval forces and the return to domestic industries of some 200,000 able-bodied men. Thus a shrinking demand combined with an enormous influx of laborers. It is not surprising that wages should have fallen rapidly and that hunger and suffering should have been experienced throughout the land for some years thereafter. Owen managed to keep the mills at New Lanark working, but had to turn away many applicants for employment. Such was the condition of the country when in 1816 and 1817, Robert Owen first propounded his celebrated plan for provision by the state of means of subsistence for the unemployed. The promulgation of which marked the beginning of modern Socialism. He laid down the postulate that the ultimate cause of the distress experienced was the displacement of human labor by machinery. He asserted that in Great Britain alone machinery represented the labor of more than a hundred millions of the most industrious human beings; and as machinery was far cheaper in the working it continually displaced and drove out of the market the labor of the mere toiler with his hands. His conclusion was that either the use of machinery must be curtailed or millions of British subjects must be suffered to starve to death. Consequently advantageous occupations must be found for the poor and unemployed working classes, to whose labor mechanism must be rendered subservient instead of being applied against them. Nothing came of this proposal at the time, but Owen spent some £4,000 in securing publicity for his view. Mr. Podmore reminds us that no less an authority than Ricardo was in favor of giving Owen's scheme a fair trial.

After 1823 Owen ceased to urge his views upon audiences recruited mainly from the well-to-do and educated classes. His appeals to them had not been altogether unproductive, measured by the standard of subscription lists, but the enthusiasm evoked was short lived and none of the subscription lists ever matured. In later years Owen addressed his message to a different and larger body of hearers. On his return, some six years later, from America, and the failure of his experiment at New Harmony, Ind., he found a more congenial environment among the working classes.

For the rest of his life his appeal was addressed mainly to them, and if the response which it elicited was not always of the precise kind at which he aimed, the effects produced were, at any rate, more lasting.

A concise account of the New Harmony Community and of its collapse is given in the thirteenth chapter of his book. In April, 1825, Owen bought from the Rappites, who had founded it, the village of New Harmony, at about 20,000 acres of land for about \$30,000. The fate of the experiment is well known. After the lapse of a few years the little community repudiated Socialism and lapsed into complete individualism. Owen and Machure, his fellow landlord, selling or leasing in small lots such of the property as they did not retain in their own hands. From first to last Owen incurred a personal loss of more than £40,000—four-fifths of his entire available capital at that time. But although Owen's application of Socialistic principles proved in practice a failure, his efforts had an unlooked for success in another direction. New Harmony remained for more than a generation the chief scientific and educational center in the West, and the influences which radiated from it made themselves felt in many ways in the social and political structure of the western country.

Meanwhile the co-operative movement started by Owen before he quitted the Atlantic to embark on the New Harmony experiment had acquired much momentum in England. By the beginning of the year 1830 there were nearly 300 co-operative societies in the United Kingdom, and a year or two later the number had risen to between four and five hundred. All these societies recognized that they owed their existence to Robert Owen's teaching and inspiration and looked up to him as their founder and prophet.

During the years which immediately followed his return from the United States Owen advocated and supported the labor exchanges, all of which, with one exception, ended in disaster, and he took a leading part in the co-operative congresses, which, beginning in 1831, continued thereafter to be held semi-annually at various towns in England.

The personality of the subject of this biography is brought home vividly to the reader in a final chapter. Robert Owen, we are told, was by no means a handsome man. Of his ugliness in middle life there can be no doubt, but with advancing years it is probable that the rugged lines of the face were somewhat softened. In general society Owen could be a bore of the first magnitude. He was conscious of a message to be delivered to mankind, and in the business of its delivery he recognized no limitation of place or reason and no distinction of person.

Robert Owen was a man without guile. He was also without malice. It was the union in him, in a supreme degree, of simplicity and good will that explains his influence. An old friend remarked to his son that if Robert Owen had been in his nursery seven thousand children instead of seven there would have been love enough to go around. The stream of kindness flowed on inexhaustible until the end, which came in November, 1858. His life had been one long protest against the poverty and unhappiness—needless, as he conceived—which he saw around him. His hand and heart were always open; rarely does he seem to have turned a deaf ear to any appeal. In a word, Owen carried out nobly in act the religion which he preached: "Pure and genuine religion, which never did and never will consist in unmeaning phrases, forms and ceremonies, but in the daily, undeviating practice, in thought, word and action, of charity, benevolence and kindness to every human being with whom we come into communication or have any transaction, near or remote."—M. W. H. in N. Y. Sun.

## The New York Evening Post.

An editorial on the work of the International Socialist Congress, expresses the thought that the Socialists "are growing sober," as much of the work done was of a constructive nature, taking into consideration all the facts and meeting them squarely and without hiding behind stereotyped formulae or thread-worn phrase. But we venture the opinion that it is the capitalist press that is growing sober. Occasionally, more now than formerly, because our growing importance and size commands fear and respect, that press looks at us with eyes not intoxicated with class hate, and says frankly that it sees. And if there is any "moderation," as the Post professes to think, and which it feels thankful for, that "moderation" bodes no good to the capitalist class, for if we are finding by better ways to move toward our end aim, this does not alter the end aim, but makes it surer of attainment. It makes so much surer the day of the dissolution of the capitalist system in favor of the more just system. The Socialist movement is developing the wisdom necessary to its mission. The very fact that its international congress finds itself beset with problems because of the different conditions the party must deal with in the different nations, only points out the clearer the facts that the party is constructively at work in those differing situations and that the movement does not mean to lay down cast-iron, inflexible rules internationally to embarrass the movement in the different nations. Those have to remain native to the soil and the temperament and the manners of the people. The modern Social-Democratic movement began as an international society. But it soon divided into national parties, which have in time grown locally strong enough to again feel the value of international agreement through actual organization in place of implied federation.

## Party News.

Our comrades in Massachusetts have put up John Brown for governor. And he is said to have the kind of soul that will keep marching on, too.

Eugene V. Debs is just recovering from a severe illness at his home in Terre Haute, Ind. Pneumonia was threatened.

At Mangum, Tex., Guy E. Miller and Laura B. Payne, debated the question of Socialism on Sept. 13 and 14, with a judge of the district court. The result: 30 applications for membership filed with the local.

By recent referendum conducted by the national office, in agreement with the state committee and Secretary A. M. Brooks, Arthur Bassett of Fargo was elected state secretary of North Dakota.

Kentucky farmers are up in arms over the schemes of the tobacco trust, and some of them are even willing to listen to Socialism, writes Comrade Ford. He will try to get Socialist plate matter into some of the farm papers. That's the way to do it.

Last Saturday night the Socialists of Minneapolis held their indignation meeting, and although

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## forty or fifty policemen were on

land they did not molest the speakers. The meeting was held to justify the right of free speech and peaceable assemblage, in the face of several brutal attempts of the city administration to suppress their open-air meeting.

## Dates for National Organizers.

George H. Goebel: Sept. 29, Prescott, Ariz.; 30, Humboldt; Oct. 1, 2, McCabe; 3, Prescott; 4, 5, Jerome.

Martin Hendricksen (Finnish): Sept. 29, Brooklyn, N. Y.; 30, New York City; Oct. 1, Brooklyn; 2, New York City; 3, New Rochelle; 4, New York City; 5, Jersey City.

Lena Morrow Lewis: Sept. 29, Oct. 4, Philadelphia, Pa.; 5, New York City.

Guy E. Miller: Texas, under the direction of the state committee.

Carl D. Thompson: Sept. 29, en route, 30, Shelbyville, Ind.; Oct. 1, Findlay, Ohio; 2, Warren; 3, 4, Pittsburg, Pa.; 5, New York City.

John M. Work: New York, under the direction of the state committee.

M. W. Wilkins: Maine, under the direction of the state committee.

J. Mahlon Barnes, Nat. Sec., 269 Dearborn Street, Chicago.

## On Constructive Socialism.

### Fraternal Organizations.

By all means this field ought to be invaded. The various religious, social and fraternal organizations to insure their members in case of sickness or death. Why not do the same? Our party, more than all others, is composed mostly of the poorer class. They are not admitted into the bankers' and merchants' associations. They can not afford to obtain insurance in the old-line companies. As a rule they are affiliated with fraternal associations which are managed badly. Their officials are shrewd politicians, and manipulating these institutions for their pecuniary benefit. A great number of party members do belong to them. Why not have an organization of our own? With good economic management the dues, premiums and assessments could be lowered, and the stability of the organization secured. Let us start right now to conduct our own affairs. Why wait for the future? If we are competent, or can not be entrusted with conducting such small affairs, how can we be entrusted with conducting the affairs of a city, state or nation? Undoubtedly some errors will be committed in the beginning, but I am sure they will be unintentional, and they will be of less consequence than the wholesale corruption existing in these institutions today.

The benefit derived from such institutions can hardly be overestimated. 1. The party members will be united, not only ideally, but linked by an economic tie. We will learn to know each other, not in abstract discussion, but in actual life. Here we will test our ability to manage properly our business affairs. We will break up the cliques common to all these organizations and establish a real democratic government. We will become real brothers in actual life.

2. We will become a power in the financial world. It has been proven that the insurance companies of this country practically control the financial institutions of the nation. The powerful influence the Socialist Fraternal Associations of America would have upon the financial institutions of this country would be tremendous. Our organized forces would not only

count in the productive field, but in the financial and political activities of the country as well.

3. In these institutions we could employ good brains and pay them fair salaries. Thus the higher type of men who were forced to give their brains and genius to capital will be invited to join our forces. For let us remember that occupations or professions are not freely displayed to be voluntarily picked by the choice of the individual. The inherent impulse to live and to satisfy the requirements of self and family, together with the conditions under which we find ourselves, determine the nature of our activities. The laborer at the stockyards is compelled to "doctor" up the diseased meat with poisonous preservatives. And the intellectual worker is urged to serve capital with devising schemes. One devises the "combination" of ingredients, and the other "produces" the result of the activities of both are the same. With these organizations we will divert the stream of intellectual activities into the river of the proletarian forces.

## Education.

It is acknowledged that the education of the masses is their mightiest weapon. Hence it should be broad as far as possible. Continual discussions upon economic questions become monotonous. The constant exposure of social anomalies has a depressing effect. Occasionally the good side of social activities should be taken up. A comparison of the wages of labor and mode of life of the workingmen a century ago with their conditions of today would inspire hope and enthusiasm to work for a still better future.

Popular lectures on history, political economy, natural science, hygiene and sanitation would be of great advantage to the members. Such lectures could be held once a week and supported by voluntary contributions. The lectures should be made instructive and entertaining. Good results would surely follow.

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Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor, the international and national organizations, the state federations, central labor unions and federal labor unions herewith requested to assist such bona-fide labor papers in their respective localities, by endeavoring to increase the circulation of said journals, and also by patronizing the job printing offices and such job offices owned by the paper or the labor organizations, as such printing offices are thorough establishments in every department, and by not doing work to increase the influence of a bona-fide labor journal generally has as a community in sustaining and advancing the cause that we are banded together as union men to uphold.

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## Civic Value of Leaves.

While we hear talk of out-door art, places of recreation and breathing places, the park problem is not being solved from the utility standpoint as it should. The two essentials in parking are trees and shrubbery. Of the several reasons for this we will at this time mention but two, both of which are distinct functions of the leaves. They are but a small item in the many factors in forestry management, and common sense parking is really city forestry.

The tree requires carbon, which is the chemical or scientific name for charcoal. Everyone notices the charcoal in wood ashes and can form an idea of its utility in the growth of trees from whence it came.

This carbon is absorbed from the atmosphere by the green foliage, while it is in the atmosphere in liquid form (carbonic acid gas). This gas is poisonous to animal life.

The upward flow of sap in a tree is composed principally of water which has been formed by the union of oxygen and hydrogen gases. When the leaves absorb gas the hydrogen gas of the water unites with it and liberates the pure oxygen, thereby the green leaves consume what is poisonous to us and return in its place pure oxygen to breathe. We take it into our lungs pure, but when we exhale it, or empty our lungs of it before taking another breath, this exhalation is largely that same carbonic acid gas, so what we throw off as poison the tree takes up for building material, and what the tree discards we take up as pure food. The green leaves of a tree, shrub or plant correspond to our lungs. It is, therefore, natural for animal life to live among vegetation, and from these facts we can see why it is so devastating for many people to live close together where they inhale the air that has not been purified by foliage; and if the purifying does not take place close by, there should be an opportunity for the atmosphere to travel without creating those "pneumonia drafts" so common in between buildings and so rare in the woods. This holds good after the leaves have fallen also.

The other function of green leaves is not quite so easily explained within the limited space

available at this time.

Our atmosphere is always absorbing water from where there is plenty, and letting go of it wherever it may be needed, provided nature's intelligent contrivances have not been interfered with. This is what the green foliage of all plants do, particularly trees and shrubbery. We hear it argued that forests not only prevent a quick runoff of rain, but that they cause rain. And we also hear it denied. Cutting out all argument for lack of space, we will give you one striking example.

The islands of Hawaii have been almost denuded of trees by lumbermen; however, there is a yield and export of \$50,000,000 a year by intensive culture. They take water from the windward side of mountains to the lee side, where there is richer soil but not enough water. There are now 207 large reservoirs constructed to hold water collected during heavy rainfalls, to be used when rain is lacking. The water is conveyed by fifty aqueducts forty miles long. There are also 600 artesian wells and large pumps (many of which were made in Milwaukee). Right in the midst of these expensive contrivances is one dairy where twenty large eucalyptus trees supply the ranch with water without cost to the owner. These trees are from eighty to one hundred feet high, surrounding a large shed with a corrugated iron roof. The condensation on the cool leaves causes the water to drip on this roof, and it is conveyed by troughs to a large tank and the overflowing surplus maintains quite a pond as well. This may sound fishy, but can be easily verified. All our trees are performing a like function in Milwaukee. Their accomplishment is not so great in any single instance, but none the less important. The humidity of our atmosphere by day would not be normal if it were not for the reinforcement by the night condensations.

These are but a few of the natural influences of vegetation over animal life which our modern civilization has vitiated, and for which we are suffering all the diseases accompanying degeneration and with which our park commissions must reckon.

## MILWAUKEE.

### Social-Democratic Notes.

The County Central Committee held a very well attended meeting at Pashen's Hall last Monday night. Comrades, be sure to attend your branch meetings regularly from now until the close of the spring election. There will be something doing.

The branches everywhere in the county are getting active of late.

Don't forget those Weaver lectures here next month, Oct. 23, 24 and 25, at the Nineteenth, Twelfth and Eleventh wards, respectively. They will be interesting, to be sure.

A meeting of the speakers' committee was held last Thursday evening.

### Campaign Fund.

Tenth ward for literature, \$15.00  
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### Branch Meetings Next Week.

TUESDAY, 8 P. M.  
Fourth, 190 Eighth street.  
Wauwatosa, Twenty-ninth street and Grand avenue.

THURSDAY, 8 P. M.  
Fourteenth, 762 Forest Home av.  
Fifth, 382 Washington street.  
Ninth, 469 Eleventh street.  
Town of Greenfield, 1116 Lapham.

FRIDAY, 8 P. M.  
Twenty-second, 2714 North avenue.  
Second, 469 Eleventh street.

SATURDAY, 8 P. M.  
Town of Milwaukee, corner Nash and Teutonia avenues.

Town of Lake, 575 Clement avenue.  
West Allis, Sixty-fourth and Greenfield avenues.

SUNDAY, 2:30 P. M.  
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## NOTICE!

The County Central Committee will hold its meetings hereafter at PASHEN'S HALL, 326 Chestnut St. Next meeting will be held at the above mentioned hall on Monday evening, 8 P. M., October 14.

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## Resolutions on Trade Unions Passed by last National Socialist Convention.

The trade and labor union movement is a natural result of the capitalist system of production and is necessary to resist the encroachments of capitalism. It is a weapon to protect the class interests of labor under the capitalist system. However, this industrial struggle can only lessen the exploitation, but it cannot abolish it. The exploitation of labor will cease only when the working class shall own all the means of production and distribution. To achieve this end the working class must consciously become the dominant political power. The organization of the workers will not be complete until they unite on the political as well as the industrial field on the lines of the class struggle.

The trade union struggle cannot attain lasting success without the political activity of the Socialist party. The workers must fortify and permanently secure by their political power that they wring from their exploiters in the economic struggle. In accordance with the decisions of the International Socialist Congresses in Brussels, Zurich and London, this convention reaffirms the declaration that the trade and labor unions are a necessity in the struggle to aid in emancipating the working class, and we consider it the duty of all workers to join with this movement.

Neither political nor other differences of opinion justify the division of the forces of labor in the industrial movement. The interests of the working class make it imperative that the labor organizations equip their members for the great work of the abolition of wage slavery by educating them in Socialist principles.

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"With a suddenness that must be startling to those who note only the surface of events, Socialism has become a factor in our moral, political and industrial life. The Socialist vote for President last fall attracted a good deal of attention—more, perhaps, than in itself it deserved—but it was in no way a measure of the importance of the Socialist movement. And year by year, as science impels consolidation and co-operation on a scale impossible in the past, the collectivists' proposals formulated by Karl Marx, out of the theorizing of the great French economists of the eighteenth century, are bound to receive more and more attention.

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By Edward Bellamy. A sequel to his "Looking Backward" and presenting his ripe knowledge of the principles of Socialism. Is in the form of a story and very readable. Cloth, 142 pages, \$1.25. Paper 50 cts.

Address Social-Democratic Herald, 344 Sixth St., Milwaukee.

STATE OF WISCONSIN—MILWAUKEE COUNTY. Court in Probate. In the Matter of the Estate of Emma Frahm, Deceased.

It is ordered that the time from the date until and including the first Tuesday of April, A. D. 1908, be and the same is hereby fixed as the time within which all creditors of the said Emma Frahm, deceased, shall present their claims for examination and allowance. It is further ordered that all claims and demands of all persons against the said Emma Frahm, deceased, will be examined and adjusted before this court, at its courtroom in the courthouse, in the city of Milwaukee, in said county, at a special term thereof appointed to be held on the first Tuesday of July, 1908, and all creditors are hereby notified thereof.

It is further ordered that notice of the time and place at which said claims and demands will be examined and adjusted as aforesaid, and of the time above limited for creditors to present their claims and demands, be given by publishing a copy of this order and notice, for four consecutive weeks, once in each week, in the Social-Democratic Herald, a newspaper published in the county of Milwaukee, the first publication to be within fifteen days from the date hereof.

Dated this 16th day of September, 1907.  
By the Court: JOHN C. KAREL, County Judge.  
Richard Eliser, Attorney for Estate.

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the next great political battle in this country seemed exaggerated when he made it a few years ago, his far-sightedness is already vindicated. To fight for Socialism you must understand it; to fight against Socialism you must understand it."

The above appeared in the Saturday Evening Post more than a year ago. When even such capitalistic sheets admit so much, it ought not to be hard for you to make the most prejudiced person realize the importance of our movement, and the necessity of understanding it.

Once you get a person to acknowledge the importance of the Socialist movement it is comparatively easy to persuade your prospect to get further posted on the subject of Socialism. Show that a thorough knowledge of Socialism can only be gotten from its friends, not its enemies. After you are through reading your Herald, hand your copy to your prospect. Repeat this for a month or two. By that time it will be easy to land him as a subscriber.

Here then is one way of securing new subscribers. It's a way by which everyone of our present readers can secure others. Why not try it? Just go at it. Keep at it. Don't give up. Never get discouraged. Be like a postage stamp—stick until you get there.

We do not print as others do, but as the printing best fits your purpose. Let us show you how we do it. The Co-operative Printery, 344 Sixth street.

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You are particularly invited to visit this display and to make early selection, if possible; but, even if you are not ready to purchase, the exhibit can't fail to interest and please you.

Music by DeBona's Orchestra Today  
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No, Mr. Bruce, labor does not care to take anything from that dirty hand of yours. We do not want insult added to injury.

"It would be a step to discredit the city, even during the periods of business depression, and I hope better judgment will prevent any such backward move in Milwaukee's municipal improvements." So says former City Engineer Benzenberg.

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Beginning Thursday.  
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With WALTER JONES  
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over which street cars are being run constantly. It was referred to the district attorney's office for an opinion on its legality, and nothing more was heard of it. Recently when complaint was made that a delay in the district attorney's office was holding the county back from taking action to dissolve the Neacy injunction against the purchase of a farm and quarry for house of correction prisoners, Supervisor Mies also called attention to the resolution about the Wells Street viaduct and demanded that a report be made by the district attorney. The report has now been made, and so a year and a quarter after the attempt was begun the county board will take action in the matter of investigating the safety of the much traveled viaduct. But the action by the district attorney's office on the Neacy injunction is still withheld.

There are men in broadcloth who need just as much watching as the unrespectable porch-climber or pickpocket. When such slick individuals as W. G. Bruce are at their games the citizens may well keep a weather eye open. This specimen of a man exerted all the underhanded efforts possible in contributing to the defeat of child labor legislation at Madison, and now has the affrontery to pretend to sympathize with the poor factory victims produced by his own legislative acts. It's a sad day when the working class must accept "help" from a man who is stabbing it in the back behind the scenes.

Oh, no, gentlemen. This Metropolitan Park Commission is no honorary pall bearer business. You were selected to do the work yourselves. No three thousand dollar secretaryship squander, if you please. Besides, if you are to pay out so much of the city's money, some pretty big men can be gotten at such a price instead of a fellow who has been only broad enough to do Tom Neacy's dirty work in local politics.

Funny, eh? that just at the same time that it is said the street railway men were secretly organizing so as to get living wages, the street car company starts a number of suits against its conductors for pilfering fares. It looks a little suspicious, somehow. The company has used such disgraceful tactics against its men in the past that we may well suspect that these prosecutions are merely trumped up in order to get at some of the men who have been talking organization. In some cases perhaps there has been pilfering. In fact, one of the accused men has admitted it in the newspapers, saying he could not make good the money he took because of poor wages. Cardinal Manning, we think it was, once said that it was no crime for a starving man to steal, and this conductor tells the papers that he had a sick wife and that his wages are ONLY TEN DOLLARS A WEEK! Try to think what such a wage means in these days of robber prices for the means of subsistence, and think of paying doctor bills besides, and then say to yourself who is the criminal in this case, the poor starved conductor or John I. Beggs, his economic persecutor, who is pursuing him?

When the legislature was in session, W. G. Bruce, that "honorable reformer" that the *Free Press* shed salt tears over, secretly wrote letters over his own signature urging the defeat of labor legislation. Now he has consented to hold the collection taken up for one of the victims of the very factory conditions that the labor legislation would have changed. Such a kind, honorable gentleman!

In order to please the *Free Press* we suppose Ald. Braun reported that the convention of the League of American Municipalities went on record as "favoring the control of public utility corporations by commission, similar to the new method in Wisconsin." But in making this misstatement he probably forgot that it was well known that the convention came out strong for home rule of cities. Home rule for cities and city affairs run by outside commissions do not jibe a little bit.

Under the capitalist swa, and control, and under the capitalist habit of mind the modern city is always kept from looking out for the best interests of the citizens for whose benefit the city is supposed to be organized. A writer in the *Westminster Review* has again brought to public attention the fact that there are at least fifteen hundred towns and villages in Germany that still own, as a survival from the pre-capitalist eras, so much public land that the revenue is sufficient to run the local government without putting any burdens on the inhabitants. Nor is this all. Fully five hundred of these places derive so much return from their lands that each citizen gets a New Year's present of from \$25 to \$100. It is shown, too, that there is a relatively small amount of crime in these places and that wages are better. What modern cities could do, not for the lords but for the masses, if the grip of capitalism could be wrenched loose, would fill a large book. They could even play the game of capitalism with some bene-

fit to the people. But capitalism is jealous of its own and has decreed that profits belong to the individual capitalist or aggregation of capitalists, and that the collectivity should leave the capitalists a free field. In other words, the capitalists arrogate to themselves the right to say what the "legitimate" sphere of the state shall be. And as long as they can keep the cities in the control of "business" administration, their will is sure to be law.

Every day throws new light on our "reformers." Recently a girl had her scalp torn off by having her hair caught in the wheels of a knitting factory and money is being collected for her relief by sympathetic working women. Now W. G. Bruce has agreed to handle the money. And this same Bruce secretly wrote letters while the child labor bill was up urging its defeat, and the letters were signed by him in black and white!

The editor of one of the evening papers has dragged the bones of the Herron scandal into the light again, and, with the usual relish of the hypocritical capitalist morality, takes great pains to show what an awful thing it was. The capitalist morality likes to strain at gnats and swallow camels. Although we do not defend it, we will say that compared with the average of marital rottenness that exists in our present-day capitalist society, the Herron case was really light colored. Love had ceased in the Herron household, at least on one side, which being the case, the doctor felt that the moral thing to do was to end the marital relations, making provision for the economic safety of the wife and children. A divorce was secured, and Herron was then united to the woman of whom he had become enamored. Following the capitalistic habit he might have continued to immorally cohabit without love in his home, and had illicit relations outside, which is no crime under capitalism, so long as it is kept covered up. But he chose a different course. We suspect there was a good deal of the "stop thief" cry in the newspaper scandal-mongering that followed. For the capitalist morality always likes to direct attention away from itself by pointing to someone else.

But what are we to think of an editor, who, living in a city like Milwaukee, whose downtown streets at night are almost a seething brothel, writes at this because it helps business, and in order to regale his love for scandal has to dig up the bones of the Herron case? And this pretense of horror at the Herron case, too, comes from an editor who married his "affinity" so soon after the death of his first wife, it is alleged, that he was also the subject of gossip.

A prize hypocrite is W. G. Bruce of the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association. During the legislature he was sneaking industriously about to defeat the child labor bill so that as many children as possible might be doomed to slave in the mills and factories of the capitalists. Having succeeded in that, he can now pose as a friend of the work children he helped to enslave; and has agreed to hold the money that sympathetic work girls are collecting for the relief of a little girl who had her scalp torn off in one of the child labor knitting factories.

## Socialist Postal Cards

Sets of three Social-Democratic souvenir postal cards are now on sale at the party headquarters. The cards present views of the headquarters and the printery and will be very handy to mail to outside friends to show how the Milwaukee movement is progressing. Just what you have been looking for.

## Form of Will.

I do hereby give, devise, and bequeath to "The Milwaukee Social-Democratic Publishing Company," incorporated, the sum of . . . . . (or, if other property, describe the property.)

## A Suffrage Resolution.

The International Socialist Congress resolves as follows:

The congress greets with the utmost pleasure the first International Socialist Women's Conference, and expresses its entire solidarity with the demand concerning woman's suffrage put forward by it. The congress, in particular, declares:

It is the duty of Socialist parties of all countries to agitate most energetically for the introduction of universal womanhood suffrage.

The Socialist party repudiates limited woman's suffrage as an adulteration of and a caricature upon the principle of political equality of the female sex. It fights for the sole living concrete expression of this principle, namely, universal womanhood suffrage, which should belong to all women of age and not be conditioned by property, taxation, education, or any other qualification which would exclude members of the laboring classes from the enjoyment of this right. The Socialist women shall not carry on this struggle for complete equality of right of vote in alliance with the middle class women suffragists, but in common with the Socialist parties, which insist upon woman suffrage as one of the fundamental and most important reforms for the full democratization of political franchise in general.

It is the duty of the Socialist parties of all countries to agitate strenuously for the introduction of universal womanhood suffrage and must insist upon it, whether it be carried on in Parliament or elsewhere. In those countries where the democratization of manhood suffrage has already gone sufficiently far, or is completely realized, the Socialist parties must raise a campaign in favor of

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## The Lord Will Provide!

And the Man from Mars stopped beside a busy field filled with men, most of whom were working hard, while a few seemed to do nothing but eat, drink and make merry.

And, as he watched, one of those who worked came and lay down by the roadside. And the Man from Mars engaged him in conversation.

"What is this I see in the field yonder?" queried the Man from Mars.

"That is a community of human beings," replied the workman.

"What are they doing?" pursued the Man from Mars.

"They are struggling for existence. Some, you see, are producing, while some are merely consuming."

"Why do they not all produce?" asked the Man from Mars.

"Well," replied the workman, "by common consent those who work are entitled to receive back a fair share of what they produce. There are a few among us whom God, in his infinite wisdom, has appointed to consume what the workers do not get."

"Does it work out all right?" continued the Man from Mars.

"Yes, most of the time," answered the workman. "As long as the consumers do their duty, the

workmen's dinner pails are full. But sometimes even this much is consumed and destroyed by war and otherwise, and even the many men are taken from the ranks of the producers for the army and navy, and it is found that things are produced faster than they are consumed."

"What happens then?" asked the Martian.

"Then we have overproduction," said the workman. "The principal trouble with our system is that the workman suffers most when we have too much. When we have overproduction the consumers who own the land will not allow us to produce any more. And then, as there is no production, we cannot get a fair share of it. And then our dinner pails become empty. And then we have to beg, steal, or starve."

"And is the community contented with this arrangement?" queried the Man from Mars, arising to depart.

"Well, you see," said the workman, "being a Christian community, we also have ministers who teach us to be meek and humble and content with our lot, and, besides, to change it would be revolutionary, and revolutions are not good unless they have already happened." Ellis O. Jones, in *Life*.

A universal womanhood suffrage and in connection with it, of course, forward all those demands which have yet to realize in the interest of the civil rights of the male portion of the proletariat.

Although the International Socialist Congress cannot dictate to any country a particular time at which a suffrage campaign should be commenced, it nevertheless declares that when such a campaign is instituted in any country, it should proceed on the general Social-Democratic lines of universal adult suffrage without distinction and nothing less.

"Honest Answers to Honest Questions," by Allan L. Benson, author of "Socialism Made Plain." Single copies, 5 cts.; 25 for a dollar!

Charity is only a narcotic to the pain-racked patient. It does not touch the root of the disease.—Dr. Alex J. McVior Tyndall.

The break-down of the attempt to found a dual national trade union movement makes the present just the time to educate workingmen on the true relations of Socialism to the unions. Bebel's pamphlet on "Trades Unionism" is just the thing to use. 5 cents a copy. Get twenty-five for \$1 and put them where they will do the most good. Don't delay. Address this office.

"The Co-operative Commonwealth," by Laurence Gronlund was long ago referred to as Karl Marx interpreted to the Yankee mind. You should have a copy to work with. This office. Paper, 50 cents.

"Socialism and Modern Science," by Prof. Ferri, is a wonderful book. You cheat yourself by not reading it. This office. Cloth, \$1, postpaid.

The *HERALD*, ten weeks, ten cents, to new subscribers.

## Every Suit of Clothes

that leaves my shop is an advertisement for me. I want more advertisers. I want to make a suit for every union man in town. I have union tailors and the Union Label. Don't wait. Come in this week and let me show you some of the new fall fabrics that I am making up at \$25.00.

WALTER P. STROESSER, 316 State St.

We put an individuality into your printing that demands attention. Let us show you samples. The Co-operative Printery, 344 Sixth street.

Make your purchases at the stores of our advertisers and tell them why.

Printing that fits your purpose does double advertising. Get your next estimate from the Co-operative Printery, 344 Sixth street.

Levy & Kahn announce to their many patrons and friends their fall opening and exhibition, beginning Saturday, Sept. 28. All are cordially invited to visit this display and enjoy the music furnished by DeBona's orchestra throughout the afternoon and evening.

There is no wealth but life.—Ruskin. It is right and necessary that all men should have work to do, work worth doing, work of itself pleasant to do, work done under such conditions that it is neither over-wearisome nor over-anxious.—William Morris.

Fellowship is life and lack of fellowship is death. Fellowship is heaven and lack of fellowship is hell; and the deeds that ye do on the earth it is for fellowship's sake that ye do them.—William Morris.

## GAYETY

(FORMERLY THE STAR)

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